UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

UNITED STATES DOCTRINAL PROGRAM

USIA: ICP: Ralph Block

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### UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

### UNITED STATES DOCTRINAL PROGRAM

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#### FOREWORD

United States Information Agency to carry out the purposes of an approved OCB plan for a "U. S. Doctrinal Program." In the OCB consideration of this subject, two facts were evident: a) The nature of the program presupposes that, irrespective of the essential coordination required with other departments and agencies, the chief responsibility for the program will lie with USTA; b) While aspects of such a program have been given sporadic attention in the past, the Doctrinal Program as a total organized effort will require a fresh and different kind of thinking, by policy, media and field personnel, with a consequent effect on operations; c) This is a long-range program.

The attached paper is an analysis of the subject, of its relation to the approved USIA mission; and an outline of the part to be played in the program by appropriate media, and of coordination with other agencies.

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#### UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

January 15, 1954

#### UNITED STATES DOCTRINAL PROGRAM

(Reference: PSB - Doc. No. D=33, June 29, 1953)

#### I. Purpose of the Instruction

- 1. To explain the meaning and purpose of the Doctrinal Program;
- 2. To outline responsibilities for supporting action in the doctrinal field of: a) Public Affairs Officers in area operations;
  b) Coordinated Psychological Intelligence; c) International Information Centers; d) The International Press Service; e) The International Broadcasting Service; f) The International Motion Picture Service; g) The Office of Private Cooperation; h) The Office of Policy and Programs,

#### II. Definitions

A. "Doctrine - a plan, or body of principles, in any branch of knowledge; dogma; principle of faith. . . a principle accepted as authoritative. Doctrine implies acceptance of a principle as taught by a body of believers or of adherence to a philosophy, a school or the like." (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary.)

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Intellectuals = (intelligenteis): a lebel originating in burce in the late 19th and early 20th centuries arising out of the social and intellectual cleavages of the industrial revolution, and subsequent social and political revolutionary movements; increasingly prevalent as loosely descriptive of a class of persons who are concerned critically and theoretically with and in behalf of certain social, political, philosophical and economic ideas, as differentiated in some respects from those who are engaged in the actualities of direction or administration:

"A member of a party or faction claiming to represent, or regarded as representing intelligent opinon; as the Russian intellectuals."

(Meeriam-Webster's New Dictionary.)

C. <u>Doctrinal System:</u> An interrelated body of ideas, whether consciously organized or not, which, reflecting the manner or context of thinking characteristic of individuals, groups or classes, provides a body of underlying principles intended to justify a particular type of social-political belief and structure.

# III. U. S. Doctrinal Program:

## 1. Objectives

a. To break down world-wide doctrinaire thought patterns which have provided an intellectual basis for international Communism

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and other doctrines hostile to American and free world objectives.

- b. To place political, economic and social knowledge in a perspective which will assist in clarifying for free work purposes the place of men in his societies.
- the traditions and viewpoints of the United States and of the free world.

#### 2. Tasks

- of the threat to fundamental human freedoms of international Communism.
- D. To further broad understanding of the historical processes by which governments have evolved the political and social instruments which foster the freedom and dignity of the human individual; illustrations from the United States and countries of the free world.
- To pave the way by the use of special discursive and expository materials, for deviations from and schisms in totalitarian shought patterns; to stimulate intellectual curiosity and free thought modifical, scientific, social, economic and cultural subjects.
- d. To create confusion, doubt and loss of confidence in the accepted thought patterns of convinced Communists, captive careerists, including managerial and military groups, and others under or exposed

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to Communist influence susceptible to doctrinal anneals.

other doctrines which may be hostile or inimical to American or free world objectives, e.g., extreme nationalism, neutralism, racialism and other aspects of residual totelitarianism, and to foster among adherents to such beliefs a basic understanding of the traditions of the United States and of the countries of the free world, which can lead to action in consonance with them.

# 3. Method and Content

An organized selection, production and dissemination of analytical and critical studies of:

historial development in the USSR to the present time; aiming to show clearly by interpretative and expository treatment the contrast on the one hand between the avowed objectives of Soviet Communism in behalf of "peace", and on the other hand the amoral strategies and techniques inside and outside of the USSR based in Communist ideology; by which power concentrated in the Kremlin is used in an effort to further the achievement of world revolution and displace the essentials of human freedom with the controls of Communist monolithism.

b. The historical development of freedom, and its

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satisfactions, as a fundamental element of human societies; its interpretation in political, social, economic, scientific and cultural terms and in the governmental structures and actions of the free peoples; the problems of freedom in the modern era and their continuing progress toward resolution; the disclosure of free world values in their differing traditional and hereditary aspects.

c. The traditions and ideals of the American people, as embodied in their history, their cultural and basic documents and laws, and in their relationships with other peoples and governments.

### IV. Tergets

Intellectuals, Marxists of various shades, including socialists; Fabian and otherwise, economic planners; elites, as they may be found in academic fields, both among faculties and students, particularly in schools and institutions where there is a concentration on the social and physical sciences; historians, theologians, philosophers, psychologists, anthropologists, physicists, biologists, chemists, later leaders, politically important persons, and persons in the circles of higher journalism where attention is given to political thought. In the evert operation of this program, the target areas where concentration of impact is most important are Vestern Europe, North Africa, Latin America, India and the free countries of Southeast Asia.

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countries of the series and the mental of their state of the content of the content of the content of their state of the content of the continuing of the continuing crystallization of advancing free world purposes.

#### V. Corrent Status

The Operations Coordinating Board paper on this subject was expressed by the Board July 10, 1953. The Office of Policy and Programs is represented on the OCB working group. The CCB has recognized by Board action that the chief responsibility for promulgation of this program will rest upon the U.S. Information Agency, in coordination with State, Defense, CIA and FOA.

#### VI. Discussion

A. Soviet Communism in Theory and Practice.

ime differing manifestations of the international Communist

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movement, before and since the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, indicate successively different interretations of Communist doctrine, in the shifts from Mark-Engels to Lenin, to Trotsky, to Stalin, to the liquidated fathers of Bolshevism, and finally to Malenkov. Some of these have been variations in the intended character of the classless society, but the fundamentals, around which variations in interpretation have circled like stars in an island universe, have been: a) the abolition of private ownership; b) the dictatorship of the proletariat; c) the theory of surplus value; d) the principle of dialectical materialism.

In practice the dialectical method has become an instrument by which human and technical forces have been manipulated to the purposes of the small number of the regime in whom power has been concentrated. The contradictions which become amount in this manipulation, and which are inherent as between the alogans of Communist strategy and the realities of Communist performance, call for continuing factual exposure over the entire gamut of Soviet history. Long before World War II the USSR had thrown on the ash heap of history the concept of a "soldier and sailors democratic army"; just as the "peoples democracies" of today are more hierarchical and stratified in classes than any capitalist society.

An example of the kind of thinking which both the free -and -

and the unfree world must be taught to discern as characteristic of is
the Communist method/in this surprisingly frank statement in the
Young Communist Review, Ostober 1939: "While the German-Soviet nonaggression Pact... completely undermined the most immediate dangers
of attack against the Soviet Union, it (also) weakened the ideological
foundations of the Fascist regimes." In other words the marriage of
Communism to Fascism was not without thought of weakening the bonds of
the German and Italian peoples to the Nazi and Fascist regimes.

From the beginning "peace" has been one of the defensive purposes of evolving Communism. Lenin was a thorough student of von Klausewitz, i. e. the conqueror always pretends to be peace-loving because it is to his advantage to reach his objectives with as little blood-letting as possible. Aggression therefore must always be presented as an action of a people defending itself. (Ref: "A Century of Conflict," Stefan T. Possony, 1953.) The contradictions inherent in this policy are obvious. War has always been viewed by the Communists as a means toward the accomplishment of revolution. The partitions of Poland, and the invasions of Korea and Indo-China are examples. The Soviet Government has always put on a pious face as a defender of law, order and religion, whenever this public position suited its purposes in any area or in relation to any current circumstance. Loubtless there are still people, especially in Asia, whose critical measurements of history are inadequate to assessing

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correctly these manipulations of Moscow and Peiping. The Doctrinal Program may assist in correcting these inadequacies.

The perversion of substantive terms by Communism and the manipulation of commonly understood ideas is a part of the total strategy by which Moscow and Peiping have undertaken to destroy the conscious understandings on which world society is based. The following is only a small and obvious part of a future more ample glossary of Soviet semantics.

| Soviet Post-War Conquest                              | "Liberation"                       |
|---|------------------------------------|
| Defense Against Aggression                            | - " War Mongering"                 |
| - To Be a Purnet of the Soviet Government             | - " Patriot"                       |
| The Satellite Citizents Hope for Independence         | - "Traitor"                        |
| Chinese Conscription                                  | - " Volunteer"                     |
| A Perpetual Shortage of Consumer<br>Goods             | - "A Prosperous and<br>Happy Life" |
| The Regime of Concentration Camps, Speed-up and Purge | - "The Workers" Power"             |
| Dictatorship  | - " Democracy"                     |

In an article by Alan M. G. Little, "PAVIOV AND PROPAGANDA" in "Problems of Communism" No. 2, Vol. 2, 1953 (Documentary Studies Section, International Information Administration), the writer refers to a

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review by Bertram D. Wolfs of the Voice of America Staff in New York, of The New Men in Soviet Psychology" by Raymond A. Baner, Wolfe stated that:

"... the Soviet rulers have set themselves in the 1950's to the final psychological task for the total state, namely, the conditioning of man to react to slogens, formulas, and symbols rather than to the real world within and around him."

Criticism in the modern era of man's social and political organizations and statements of new philosophic conceptions of society, are of course not limited to the Nineteenth or Twentieth centuries. In view of the kinds of audiences which the Doctrinal Program aims to reach, questions about the philosophic ideas of pre-Marxian critics and utopians may be anticipated. There should be an adequate effort to satisfy such questions. It should be kept in mind however that the basic subject of Freedom in our time is faced everywhere by the main strategic objective of international Communism, with its center in Soviet Russia. This is to bring about the downfall of the so-called capitalist societies, as predicted by Marx, and to substitute for them the iron-clad system of Soviet Communism. In whatever exposition is provided about Electroenth century critics of society, or about those who simed to reorganize the moral, religious and political systems of livings states - Fourier, Proudhon, Owen, Ricardo, Saint-Simon, Comte, Godwin, the English Chartists and the French Syndicalists - such exposition must necessarily make clear as

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well the realities of today's material world. The terms of today's conquest of his physical environment by Twentieth Century man was not dreamed of in the Eighteenth Century, nor by Marx in the Nineteenth.

#### B. The Philosophies of Freedom

There are many cautions to be observed in the presentation of the basic philosophy of our own system. In a large sense we know what these basic philosophies are - our moral, spiritual and political beliefs as they exhibit themselves in our practice, their foundations as they are enunciated in the Great Documents and exemplified in the mejor steps of our historical development. But when these basic philosophies are studied from the point of view of their translation into terms which are both attractive and acceptable to intellectuals schooled in the displacements of Mineteenth and Twentieth century European thought, many problems are observed. To scholars, political, social and economic historians, creative writers, pure scientists, artists and critics in Europe, and to those in Asia trained in Europe, the foundations of American society, in the sense of their departure in the Mgateenth and Mineteenth centuries from European models, are no longer new nor revolutionary. Our material progress is astounding; it reflects that part of our doctrine which has released our energies: Freecom. It does not reflect that spiritual part of our doctrine which will move the thinkers of Asia, nor give hope to the new stoicism of Europe.

For Western Europe, on the positive side, we will need a demonstration

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by our works, of sanity, maturity and wisdom stemming from our moral concepts, and, embodied in ideas which provide a rationale for the uncertainties of the atomic age, a demonstration of Western men's ability to survive in the best terms of survival. For Asia, particularly for the mind of India, we will need to prove our ability to create more than machines and machine techniques, and provide evidence that our religions can tend to more than the daily needs of a great social, political mechanism - as an answer to the Orient's God hunger.

When we come to deal with the Soviet orbit, we will need to make a careful discrimination between the targets in the satellite countries and those in the Soviet Union, where the Lenin-Stalin society has existed for more than thirty years. In Poland, Hungary and Czech-Slovakia, the thinking men and women - scholars and writers, on the one hand, technicians (doctors, dentists, engineers, etc.) on the other, have either sold out uneasily to the regime or have been reduced to lower economic and social levels. Intelligence studies of an intensive character will be required before an acceptable yardstick can be found by which to measure a doctrinal approach to people whose ideational processes have been either submerged in the depths of conscience or despair, or reduced to the mere desire for survival.

It may be possible that the Doctrinal Program by extending the horizon of knowledge among people of the Middle East and Asia, can lift political governments in these areas out of the parochialism which

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frequently marks the action of governments in these areas, to the detriment of today's great issues. Under the influence of a more informed understanding in these countries, it may be possible that freedom can receive a new interpretation there; but seen in a wider perspective and lifted out of the level of local political action, where, for the most part in these areas today, the degree of freedom is determined.

In any case, the cumulative long range output of informing and experience — widening materials must always leave room for the development of free world values, which may not necessarily be those of the United States. The primary issue is not the virtues of the American method of arriving at liberty, but the meaning of liberty, freedom, itself, as an ideal toward which men of good will all over the world are striving.

#### C. Purposes and Methods

Information output of a doctrinal nature must obviously be characterized by a less direct form of the information process than the several United States government information enterprises, since 1945, have carried on. Such output can not be merely news or simple information, nor the direct frontal attack upon the Communist system. It must aim by the use of materials, to a considerable extent non-attributable, which

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are rational, analytical, interpretative, discursive, expository, to shake loose and dislodge from fixed positions the thinking of persons who have become entangled in the sophistries of Communist doctrine; to clarify for persons who, lost in the complexities of modern societies, lean toward acceptance of Communist doctrine, and to make understandable and acceptable for them, in relation to global realities, the essential principles and purposes underlying the democratic thesis. The success of a doctrinal program will lie in the extent to which it influences in the direction of the purposes of freedom those persons who by their access to mass public opinion and public authority, are moved to transmit to others the effect of this enlightment.

The confirmed doctrinaire Communist is already in an advanced state of hypnosis; only events can be expected to shake him out of his trance, but direct argument is also inadequate for the partly or well equipped thinker, who, observing the economic and social systems of Europe in their mid-century state or the awakening systems of Asia and the Middle East, stands between them and the false professions and conceled absurdities of Communist doctrine. Such a man or woman.

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as a hypothetical average type, will require social studies, interpretations and criticisms, reports, statistics, theoretical presentations,
without the obvious bias of propaganda. In instances where the matter
can be used to expose developed Communist doctrine, as for instance, the
mis-application by Moscow of Pavlov's physiological theories, sound
and respected scientific evidence is a primary requisite. The target
audiences when we wish to affect must be convinced by reason, not
assaulted by propaganda. Only in this way can a lasting impression be
obtained.

However, there can be no one category of amproach or materials; a primary objective must be to open minds. The closed mind is frequently characterized by neutralism, fence sitting and its corollary, a view of the global struggle as posed by two great antagonists. As opposed to these conditions, the Doctrinal Program must aim to give both those persons, trained in the techniques and method philosophy of the contemporary world, and those who stand on the edge of knowledge, a clear view of the realities of the world, social, political, as well as historical, as opposed to the wish fulfillment philosophies toward Utopia which have dominated many innocent men and women of good will and on which

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Communism has bettened. This will not be easy, not only in Asia but in Europe as well, where soft-mindness and weariness has promoted intellectual comfortableness in the very nations which we consider the manger of Western civilization and the home of free men. In essence the Program will aim to propagate the soirit of government limited by moral law. As the English philosopher A.N. Whitehead has stated:

"It is our duty — it is our business — as ohilosophers, students and practical men — to recreate a vision of the world including the element of reference and order, without which society lapses into riot."

and Guglielmo Ferrero in The Conquest of Europe, 1814-1815.":

"Men began to emerge from barbarism when he upset the relationship between force and violence; when he asserted that government does not have the right to command because it is strong, but that it must have the strength to command because it has the right to do so. Strength is not the parent but the se swant of the right to command. But how may the right to command be justified: . . . there is only one way; to submit the jurisdiction and the transmission of power to laws which are accepted as just and

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respected as obligatory by those who command. On the day when everyone in the community both high and low, decides that the men who are to have the privilege and the responsibility of exercising power shall be chosen according to a specific law, the right to command will be acknowledged as long as that law is observed."

The position of the United States and its people in world esteem cannot be far removed from thinking in this context. We are naturally sensitive to critics from other lands, not enemy criticism but the criticism of those who either normally speak what is generally the same language, or have learned to speak ours better than we can speak theirs. We cannot avoid measuring our effort to inform the world by the preconceptions and stereotypes of Europeans and Asians about us. It must be noted, however, that this is not now the America that Dickens and Kipling called crude. We are a new and immeasurably vital force in the world. In the projection of the doctrinal program this must be intensively felt and understood, in such ways that it affects intelligently that we do. It is worthwhile quoting a paragraph by a recent British visitor, a distinguished critic of men and art: (Cyril Connolly, "Ideas

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and Places", October 1947)

". . . As Europe grows more helpless the Americans are compelled to become far-seeing and responsible, even as Rome was induced by the long decline of Greece to produce an Augustus and a Vergil. Our impotence liberates their potentialities. Something important is about to happen, as if the wonderful jeunesse of America were suddently to retain their idealism and winslity and courage and imagination into admlt life, and become the wise and good who make use of them; the old dollar values are silently crumbling, and the self-criticism, experimental curiosity, sensibility and warmth which are so wall represented, I feel, in this number, are on their way in. For Americans change very fast. they? Very fast and all at once, he said, and nothing ever changes them back.

The loctrinal Program assumes that books and periodicals, conched in the characteristic methodology of the target types and accepted as reliable by them, provide the most effective means of influencing the attitudes of persons who are themselves critically occupied in an exposition

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social, colitical, chilosophic and economic ideas. Since the developments of modern physics have come to have philosophical and social commutations, (effect of theories of Indeterminism Heisenberg, de Broglie, Schrodinger, on millosophical theories of causal relationships), scientists are group the major targets. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that only rutical meterials as opposed to traditional literary forms, will be useful. Even among "intellectuals" varying levels of values and interest prevail. The wespons employed by quasi-revolutionary persons in the late Ninetwenth and early Twentieth Centures may now be adopted for use against the revolution for which they in part prepared the way. G. B. Shaw, Them, Strindberg and Tolstoi, among others, nosed questions about the political and social forms of western societies, which tended to loosen the ties to existing institutions. But the turn-table of the world is now in a different position. Communist doctrine, and noo-Communism in action, highly organized, rigid, now become visible targets for doctrinal attack.

Impressed production and circulation of dootrinal materials which may be found in permanent and current literature, is one aspect of the doctrinal process. Selectivity is an essential. But beyond selectivity is an important catalytic process designed to give to creative personalities in the free world who have arrived at eminence and authority in their field, an understanding of the targets and the etrajectory

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stimulus toward performance adapted to the purposes of the program.

However extensively the selection of written materials may range,
a Doctrinal Program at its best will require original contributions
by persons who names and works are meaningful to intellectuals, and
command their attention. This paper does not attempt to solve the
program which calls for further informed planning.

#### VII. Intelligence Requirements - Area Responsibility

A program of this nature requires careful selectivity of target audiences, and obviously an equal selectivity of materials adapted to the targets; each conditions the other.

To assist area specialists and field personnel in refining their target selections, intelligence will be needed for further guidance along these lines:

a) Identification of the psychological structure of target groups, and their characteristics - background, position or level occupied in the several over all national social structures; any information making it possible to define more closely the minds and personalities to be influenced. "Intellectuals" frequently suffer from what might be called technological unemployment, and this is particularly

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true in the societies of the Middle and Far East. The effects on target groups of this kind of insulation from the active life of their communities will need to be diagnosed and assessed in relation to the materials to be projected. Comparable intelligence on persons in escapee camps will assist in defining categories of materials for them; b) The selection of target groups, with its subsequent effect on output and dissemination, must necessarily be a joint process between PAO<sup>3</sup>s in the field, and area staffs in the Policy and Programs division, assisted by information drawn from intelligence sources.

# VIII. Subject Matter and Operational Requirements

A. It is clear that a Doctrinal Program is necessarily a long range program, simed at a rising crescendo of results over a time period of anywhere from five to twenty-five years. Implementation, however, must be in a quite different tempos

In the contemporary state of the world, free and unfree, no time can be lost in the effort to widen the view of human relations from standpoint of the free societies for those persons who may be expected to influence present and oncoming generations. The underbrush and the intentionally deceptive earthworks which have obscured the landscape of world history since 1914 must be cleared away, and the landscape enabled to be seen accurately in its true perspective.

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#### B. Information Center Service

Under these general conditions, the Information Center Service will have these responsibilities: a) to bring to bear the purposes of the Doctrinal Program and the target selections in the selections of the Franklin Press; b) to stimulate the cheap book program through private channels; c) to develop criteria by which published materials may be assessed in respect of their value to the program; and to make approved lists available for consideration by area specialists and field personnel; d) to establish exhibits with doctrinal aspects; e) to assist in arriving at an answer to the problem of material originated specifically for these purposes.

Obviously, the latter raises a multitude of questions. Is it possible in the spirit of free inquiry to duplicate what Moscow and Peiping do daily, without turning out propaganda, thereby invalidating the essential character of the program?

Nevertheless, the problem must be explored. Certain classes of materials present no real difficulties, such as primers on various aspects of the free societies, a primer on Communism. But this is only a beginning. The problem remains: In essence to find out the current and projected plans of highly selected individual American and European scholars in a wide variety of intellectual fields and to explain to them the possibilities of fitting into this program.

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this direction, is a basic necessity of the program. The dissemination of reading materials of the kind that is envisaged for these purposes, at a price which makes them available to persons abroad who are continuously exposed to minimum price Communist propagands, is the fulcrum on which this program must turn. Students in Africa, Asia and Latin America, uncertain, blown here and there by varying winds of doctrine, eager for belief in a philosophy which will provide the Good Life, must have these materials within their reach.

#### D. Press Service

Press Service brochure, "Problems of Communism" has already established a model for doctrinal output. What is now required is: a) an assessment by area Assistant Directors of the methods of distribution in significant areas, together with field comments, on effectiveness and suggestions for improvement, and on possibilities of more extensive distribution through unattributed outlets; b) a reassessment by IPS of possible wide: sources of materials for "Problems of Communism", including reference to authorities in scholarly and publishing fields. This calls for closer coordination with ICS, and through the State Department with IES; c) consideration of other forms of output, special features, photo displays, etc., which may wholly or in part serve the purposes of the Doctrinal Program,

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# E. Office for Radio and Soviet Orbit

Service has frequently provided penetrating material, usable in other media, stripping off the pretensions of Communist doctrine and relocating accurately historical events which Moscow has determined to appropriate for its own long-range falsification. The concentration of IBS on orbit targets points up its usefulness in the loctrinal Program, particularly to those audiences behind the Curtain who in the lengthening span of Communist control need to have the truth continuously recalled to them.

IBS itself must decide the forms in which this output can be framed.

TES contains personnel well equipped to arrive at these conclusions.

#### F. Motion Ficture service

The problem here takes on different proportions both to content, channels of distribution, entities on and cost of production. Obviously doctrinal materials in visual form are limited to special audiences. Short pictures on a "This I Believe" theme, with an intimate style of presentation or newsreel technique such as used in Path to Peace (President' Eisenhower's ASNE speech) can effectively use statements of American leaders with companion pieces from leaders of other free world countries for university students and other intellectual groups. Such film showings provide an ideal setting for developing an intensive program based on the discussion type film aimed at pointing up key issues. This would provide apportunity for coordinated media effort.

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#### G. Office of Privace Cooperation

to implementation of the Doctrinal Program. In coordination with the facilities and resources of ICS, it can assist in: a) stimulation of the cheep program through non-government channels; b) assistance in maintaining contact with foundations and similar institutions who may be a source of doctrinal materials, and industrial organizations which have international scope.

#### H. Office of Policy and Programs

The issue of a paper on the Doctrinal Program, and the initiation of new steps to make it effective, by the media and the field, and in coordination with other appropriate agencies, is only a first step. Since this is a long range program, it requires long range thinking, constant revitalization by the introduction of improved methods and materials. This responsibility rests squarely on the ICP staff. From time to time specific topics in relation to this program will be brought to the staff's attention for discussion and creative advice.

# IX. Coordination Through Operations Coordinating Board

This paper does not attempt to outline coordination of the program

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with other departments and exercise. It is obvious that such coordination is necessary for an effective implementation of the Decartment Program on all fronts The International Educational Exchange Service of the Department of State is an instance of cooperation that can be fruitful, both of the character of the service and its close coordination with Public Affairs Officers in American diplomatic posts abroad.

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#### STEEL HEBLIOGRAPHI (103)

Allon, Frederick Levie Conent, James B. Murrow, Edward R. Saure, George H. Thomas, Benjamin Soure, George from the Colloquium Mayo, Bernard

Clough, Shenard B.

Chase, Stuart Linton, Ralph (ed.) Becker, Carl L. Becker, Carl L. Lencrowski. George Perkins, Dexter Randall, John Herman, Jr. Henet, Stenhen Vincent Brogan, Denis W. Stern, Frederick M. Williams, Robin M., Jr. Brinton, Crane Cohen, Morris R. Hayaloawa, S. I. Munford, Levis Arnot, Christian O. Lester, R. A. and Robie, E. A. Devies, A. Powell Dewey, John Perry, Ralph Berton Reichenbech, Hens Billman, Arthur Van Doren, Carl Chase, Stuart Hand, Learned Drucker, Peter

THE BIG CHANCE (Condensed) SCIENCE AND COMMON SENSE 手!TS / MHJ 原图 HISTORY OF POLITICAL THEIRY - 3 TOLE. ABRAHAN TINCOLN TOBAS OF THE CHEAR BOOMERISTS ISLATIC COLLUNES JEFFREN HIMSELF THE AMENICAN WAY: Economic Besis of American Civilization PROPER SWIDE OF MANKIND MOST OF I'VE WORLD EVERYMAN HIS OWN HISTORIAN HEAVENLY CITY OF THE 18TH CENTURY PHILOSOPHERS THE MIDDEN EAST IN WORLL AFFAIRS (revised) AN AMERICAN APPROACH TO MOREIGN POLICY MAKING OF THE MODERN MINI **AMERICA** THE AMERICAN CHANACTER CAPITALISH IN AMERICA AMERICAN SOCIETY, A SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION IDEAS AND MEN. THE STORY OF WESTVRN THOUGHT THIS FAYOH OF A LIBERAL LANCHUA'S IN THOUGHT AND ACTION CONDITION OF MAN EDUCATION FOR A WORLD SOCIETY CONSTRUCTIVE LABOR RELATIONS MAN'S TAST FUTURE FREEDY AND CULTURE PURITANISM AND DEMOCRACY THE RISE OF SCIENTIFIC PHILOSOPHY COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND PLANNING THE CHEAT REHEARSAL "OPERATION BOOTSTRAP" IN PURETO PICO THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY THE NEW SCUIETY: The Anatomy of Industrial Order

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INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under

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